# THE BRITISH EMPIRE

BBC tv TIME-LIFE BOOKS 25p
98 Weekly parts No. 12

## THE COMING OF THE RAJ

### The British Master India

Australia & New Zealand 70c South Africa 60c Canada 95c

SPECIAL OFFERS!
-Horse-brass Martingale
-Model
Sailing Ship

# THE BRITISH EMPIRE

BBC tv TIME-LIFE BOOKS 25p
98 Weekly parts No. 12

**Editor** Harold C. Field
**Deputy Editor** John Man
**Picture Editor** Jean I. Tennant
**Design Consultant** Louis Klein
**Staff Writers** Stephen Webbe, Simon Rigge, Hilary Macaskill
**Picture Researchers** Marian Berman, Pamela Marke
**Art Director** Robert Hook
**Assistant Art Director** Graham Davis
**Art Assistant** Bridget Allan
**Editorial Assistant** Anne Morgan
**Staff Photographer** Eileen Tweedy
**Partwork Director** Kurt Medina
**Sales Director** George Gillespie
**Consultants** D. K. Fieldhouse, Lecturer in Commonwealth History and Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford
A. F. Madden, Reader in Commonwealth Government and Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford

**MICHAEL EDWARDES,** the author of the text sections in this issue, is an authority on British India. His work *British India, 1772–1947* was the basis for a TV series entitled *Raj*. His other books include *A History of India*, *The Last Years of British India*, *Battles of the Indian Mutiny* and *Bound to Exile*. His latest work is an assessment of East-West cultural exchange. He is a well-known broadcaster on Asian affairs.

**Subscriptions** – These are available at £6·50 for six months, inclusive of postage and packing. For addresses outside of the United Kingdom, the rate is £8·75, inclusive of surface postage and packing.
**Back Numbers** – These are available at your local newsagent or may be secured by post for the inclusive price of 25p per issue. Be sure and specify which issue(s) you desire.
Orders for both subscriptions and back numbers should be sent, with remittance, to *The British Empire*, BBC Publications, 35 Marylebone High St., London W1M 4AA.
**Binders** – These may be ordered at £1·05 for the Standard edition and £1·75 for the Deluxe edition, either individually or on subscription. Orders, with remittance, should be sent to *British Empire Binders*, BBC Publications, P.O. Box No. 126, London SE1 5JZ.
**NOTE:** All above payments should be by crossed cheque/P.O.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:** (*t*=top; *b*=bottom; *r*=right; *l*=left, *c*=centre) Cover: India Office Library and Records. Back cover: by courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Trustees of the British Museum 311*t*, 318/319 (except 319*br*), 320, 321*t*, 322/323, 334/335; Foreign and Commonwealth Office 329*c*; House of Lords 321*b*; the Collection of Lawrence Impey 312*t* (detail), 313; India Office Library and Records 310, 312*b*, 314/315*t*, 329*tr*, 330, 331*t*, 332*l*; courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland 317; National Army Museum 330/331*b*, 332/333; National Portrait Gallery, London 319*br*, 324; collection of Dr. O.W.Samson 315*t*; by permission of Mr. David G. Sutherland, London 326/327; by courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum 309, 314/315*b*, 315*b*; Victoria Memorial, Calcutta 316, 325. PHOTOGRAPHERS: Larry Burrows 312*t*, 313, 316, 325–327, 330/331*b*, 332/333; Peter Davey 322/323; Dmitri Kessel 311*b*; Eileen Tweedy cover, 309, 310, 311*t*, 312*b*, 314/315, 318/319 (except 319*br*), 320, 321*t*, 329*tr*, 330, 331*t*, 332*l*, 334/335, back cover.

© 1972. Time-Life International (Nederland) N.V.
Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited.

Published by Time-Life/BBC.
Printed in England by Jarrold and Sons Ltd. Norwich.

**Issue No. 13. Early Days Down Under.** After Cook made Australia British, it became a colony of convicts – until in the 1860s protests from the growing nation ended the transportation system.

**Issue No. 14: The Clash of Cultures.** In early 19th-Century India, zealous, self-confident British officials set about reforming Indian society according to their own standards.

## CONTENTS

**309. The Coming of the Raj**
The spoils which many English sought – and some found – in the heady era following Clive's victory at Plassey.

**312. Picture Essay: Through Indian Eyes**
Pictures commissioned from Indian artists by the English to commemorate their way of life.

**316. The Battle Against Corruption**
The first controls imposed by London and the furore which surrounded Warren Hastings's impeachment for corruption.

**324. "Splendid Sloth and Languid Debauchery"**
The impossible task facing those who attempted to impose humanity and good government on the British in India.

**329. Picture Essay: Skinner's Horse**
The story of the half-caste officer who won an Empire-wide reputation with his own irregular cavalry regiment.

**334. Wellesley's "Grand Design"**
The beginnings of the hard-fought British expansion of control over the rest of India.

**Cover:** In this detail of an 18th-Century Indian tableau, top-hatted English merchants ride in a procession in the style befitting their new power.

MARTINGALE TOKEN
Save this with tokens from issues 11, 13 and 14 for this offer.
Save this with tokens from issues 9, 10 and 11 for this offer.
MODEL SHIP TOKEN
**These tokens are valuable see inside back cover.**

# THE COMING OF THE RAJ

By Michael Edwardes

**On a richly adorned elephant, an Englishman in an 18th-Century Indian print parades in emulation of native princes.**

Robert Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757 put an end, for all time to French imperial ambitions in Bengal and placed the whole of that area at the mercy of the East India Company's agents. They showed none. "Gifts" and compensations demanded by the English for their part in what Clive called "this great revolution so happily brought about," denuded the Bengal Treasury. And while the Treasury contained only £1,500,000 instead of the anticipated £40,000,000, the smaller sum offered ample opportunities for individual rapacity which deprived the Company of its hoped-for profits.

Indeed, the East India Company's outlook was very bleak, in large measure because of Clive's recommendations to the directors in London. Acting on what they presumed was the expert knowledge possessed by the hero of Plassey, the directors ended the shipment from England of the bullion which over the previous 150 years had been used to buy goods for shipment to England. Henceforth, the Bengal Treasury would be expected not only to finance the purchase of these goods but also to assume the administrative costs of the English settlements in India – to support in fact an English Raj, an Indian word for "kingdom" later adopted by the British.

This new policy had a devastating effect on the Company's fortunes, but it was no bar to the feverish activity of Company employees on their own behalf. Clive had foreseen this when in February, 1760, on the eve of his departure for England, he remarked that the only threat to Bengal was that of "venality and corruption." In the five years he was away, those dangers were realized to the full. Among other benefits that had flowed from the victory at Plassey was an edict issued by Mir Jafar, the Nawab of Bengal, which apparently gave Company employees – and even their servants, if they could produce a Company pass – the freedom to trade without paying duty. Englishmen could therefore afford

to undercut any Indian traders. Many did just that, and made themselves fortunes in internal trade.

Exports – which were arranged through the Company – also brought astronomical profits to shrewd traders: as Company agents, they could fix the purchase price they paid to Indians, and then turn round and fix the price the Company paid to them as individual traders. So, while the Company remained poor, and Bengal became poorer, the Company's employees got richer and richer. One of the more honest agents wrote home: "The country is torn in pieces by a set of rascals."

The fortunes to be made by this double-dealing were staggering. William Bolts amassed £90,000 – some £2,000,000 in current terms – by the time he returned to England in 1765 after only five years in India, and his case was only one of many. Once home, he joined the growing group of fellow "nabobs" – as those who had earned a fortune in the East were nicknamed – who were becoming notorious for the tasteless flaunting of their wealth.

The historian Thomas Babington Macaulay described the nabobs as pompous upstarts, childishly eager to be counted among the aristocracy. The insolent and extravagant manners aroused his ire. "The examples of their large and ill-governed households," he wrote, "corrupted half the servants in the country."

Much more serious was the embarrassment suffered by the directors of the Company when their poor financial results were contrasted with the nabobs' wealth. In an effort to get more revenue from Company operations, the directors pressed hard on administrators in India. To the men on the spot, the most promising method seemed to involve a change in the government of Bengal. The puppet Nawab, Mir Jafar, should be replaced. Then, out of gratitude, the newly installed ruler would on the one hand grant more revenues to the Company – and on the other distribute bribes to those who had put him on the throne.

The English therefore decided that Mir Jafar, their own protégé, was incapable, tyrannical and disloyal. They were helped towards this conclusion by the Nawab's son-in-law, Mir Kasim, who had warned the English that the Nawab was hostile to their interests and suggested himself as

**Shah Alam, the powerless Mughal Emperor, was a pawn in the struggle for supremacy between the Marathas and the British.**

ruler. He was installed in 1760, immediately after Clive's departure. Dutifully, he handed over the revenues of three large districts to the Company, and distributed £200,000 in private gifts.

But the English got more than they had bargained for. Instead of another Mir Jafar, a lazy, opium-addicted man who had complied with all of Clive's requirements, they found themselves dealing with a man of ability and character. Mir Kasim rapidly took full advantage of the situation. There was nothing pro-British about him and he immediately set about winning his own independence.

He had a pro-British minister, Ram Narain, tied to a stone and thrown into the Ganges. He successfully blocked a far-fetched scheme of the British to extend their influence by restoring the new Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, to his throne in Delhi, from which he had been driven by his expansionist neighbours, the Marathas. Finally, Mir Kasim clamped down on duty-free trade. "This is the way your Gentlemen behave," he thundered. "They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the peasants, merchants, etc. for a fourth part of their value, and by ways of violence and oppression they oblige the peasants to give five rupees for goods that are worth but one rupee." When his efforts to make the British pay duty met with a steadfast refusal, for the Company men considered this an unforgivable interference with their "rights," he freed Indians from the obligation as well. The British objected to this even more strongly.

In July, 1763, the Company declared war on Mir Kasim, deposed him, and restored Mir Jafar to the throne. In retreat, Mir Kasim fled to Patna where in cold blood he murdered 150 British prisoners – a deliberate atrocity far worse than that of the horrifying Black Hole of Calcutta of 1756. He was finally crushed at Buxar, supporting the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, but only after a hard-fought and bloody battle on October 24, 1764.

A few weeks later, Clive, now ennobled as Lord Clive of Plassey and loaded with other honours for his services, landed at Calcutta. Although it had been his own greed that had first opened the floodgates, he was deeply distressed by the iniquity he found. "Corruption, Licentiousness and a want of Principle seem to have possessed the Minds of all the Civil Servants," he wrote on his return. "They have grown Callous, Rapacious and Luxurious beyond Conception."

He attacked the problems with his customary drive and force. Every employee of the Company was compelled to sign a covenant prohibiting him from accepting "presents" or engaging in private trade. He abolished some over-generous army allowances, and then clamped down hard on an attempted mutiny. The throne of Bengal was given to Mir Jafar's son, Najm-ud-daula, a youth of 18 who, compliant as his father had been and delighted at the prospect of ready money, exclaimed: "Thank God! I shall now have as many dancing-girls as I please!"

Emperor Shah Alam was befriended, and he granted the Company the administration of Bengal in exchange for a regular subsidy. Although the administration remained nominally Indian, with Indian methods and laws, power was exercised by the British through a Company man who was nominated as the Nawab's deputy. And for the time being, Clive opposed any ideas of extending British influence beyond Bengal. True, the Emperor was regarded as a pensioner of the English. But, as Clive wrote to the

**The Hindu-inspired onion domes and arches of this lavish house, built by a "nabob," Sir Charles Lockerell, on his return home to Sezincote, Gloucestershire, "plunged the landed gentry into frenzies of envy."**

**A 1788 cartoon commemorates a rare instance when a "nabob," rich from his years of profiteering in India, was legally compelled to spew out his ill-gotten gains.**

directors in London: "To go further is in my opinion a scheme so extravagantly ambitious and absurd that no Governor and Council in their senses can adopt it." The English were not yet ready for the conquest of India.

Clive went back to England for the last time in 1767. He had done much to harness the rapacity of individuals, but much remained to be done before corruption would be rooted out and an honest, stable administration installed.

The Company continued to move further and further towards bankruptcy as its stockholders pressed for higher dividends. At the same time the government was demanding a payment of £400,000 per annum into the Treasury. The Company was forced to borrow, until, threatened both by financial disaster and the possibility of losing its trading charter, it decided to make a fresh effort at reform in Bengal. To carry it out, Warren Hastings was appointed Governor in 1771 and took up his post in the following year.

Hastings was a man of great experience and of a character unusual among the English in India. As a boy he had been a brilliant scholar, but the unwillingness of his guardian to subsidize his further education had forced him to go to work in India at the age of 17. During the events that had led up to the Battle of Plassey he had acted as an intelligence agent at Mir Jafar's Court in his capital, Murshidabad. Hastings was captured by the Indians, then released; joined Clive, married a soldier's widow who soon died, and then returned to Murshidabad as the Company's representative.

Unlike most of his contemporaries, Hastings, though prepared to make a profit out of the English victory, refused to join in the indiscriminate plunder of Bengal. He was even physically assaulted during a Company council meeting by an agent incensed at his "betrayal" of his employers. When he left for England in 1764, he took with him only a modest fortune, most of which soon evaporated in generous gifts to relatives and through bad investments in Bengal. Hastings was left with no alternative; he had to return to India. The directors of the East India Company, constantly complaining against "the general corruption and rapacity" of their servants, were glad of the opportunity to re-employ one of the few who had spurned the opportunity to loot.

# THROUGH INDIAN EYES

During the 18th and early 19th Centuries, prospering officials of the East India Company commissioned Indian artists to paint pictures like the ones seen on these pages. Some of the works were kept as mementoes, others were sent to relatives and friends in England to give them an idea of what life in India was like.

To the artists, the Company men were welcome replacements for their former patrons, the Mughal princes. With techniques refined over the centuries, Indian painters attacked their new subject-matter with vigour. The pictures portray British dress, furniture, architecture and sport, all subtly changed by being viewed through Indian eyes. Some of the works were rapidly executed in the style of street artists. Others were as intricately detailed as the exquisite Persian miniatures that were so beloved by the Mughals. But even in the paintings that meticulously observed the Indian conventions, alien elements crept in, as witness the precisely copied British portraits on the wall of the painting below, which show no trace of Indian style.

An English baby is fed by an Indian wet-nurse, one of the many servants employed to mirror middle-class households in Britain.

Dressed in an Indian kaftan and smoking a hookah – though in a distinctly British interior – a Company official is entertained in his home by a troupe of native musicians.

The wife of a Company official supervises native tailors in her sewing-room. The newly rich British took great pride in their luxurious homes and numerous servants.

An English officer is borne in a palanquin, then the best transport in India, where good roads were few and manpower cheap.

Indian jockeys in English riding-habit race their mounts towards the finishing-post.

Two lawyers argue before a Company official at a murder trial. The accused (left, held by a policeman) beheaded his wife when he learned of her seduction by a Hindu priest (right). The wife's decapitated body, never produced in court, was included by the artist to complete the story. Unfortunately, the outcome of the trial must remain a mystery: the painter did not include this information.

An Indian artist, probably unfamiliar with guns, portrays an English hunter holding his musket upside-down.

# II. The Battle Against Corruption

In 1769, Warren Hastings was sent to Madras as Second-in-Command. On the voyage out, Hastings fell deeply in love with a German woman, Maria Imhoff, married to a portrait-painter who was going to seek his fortune in India. The husband, not unwilling to gain the patronage of such an important figure, made no complaint. When Hastings was appointed to Bengal, the Imhoffs followed him, living together amicably while divorce proceedings were put through in far-off Franconia. It was not until 1777 that Hastings and Maria Imhoff were able to marry. During the years of waiting, their relationship – which was known to everyone – created considerable difficulties for Hastings. Clive, growing to dislike a protégé who replied only with empty courtesies to the elder statesman's patronizing letters of advice, remarked that "he had never heard of Hastings having any abilities except for seducing his friends' wives."

Clive never understood Hastings. No two men could have been more different. Clive was violent, moody, reckless, active, dominating by sheer force of personality. Hastings was a small man, who preferred to dress in a dull-coloured suit, patient, achieving more by careful planning than by unthinking action. Subtle and opaque to the outside world, Hastings pursued his purpose implacably, by diplomacy whenever possible, by bullying, intrigue and deceit if necessary. But those who suffered from – and resented – his actions were rich and powerful. With ordinary people, his rule was popular.

When Hastings arrived as Governor in 1772, Bengal was in a state of collapse. The government was "as wild as the Chaos itself," the country shattered by the effects of a terrible famine. All through the stifling summer of 1770 people had been dying. Cattle and farm implements were sold to buy the last scraps of food. The peasants began to eat the rice and corn that they had been saving for seed. Soon the living were feeding on the dead. Those who could still walk flocked to the towns, only to die in the streets. The reports of the Company's agents, brief and dispassionate, estimated that more than five million people had perished. It was a horror that few were to forget. One eyewitness, many years later, put his recollection into verse:

*Still fresh in memory's eye the*
*scene I view,*
*The shrivelled limbs, sunk eyes,*
*and lifeless hue;*
*Still hear the mother's shrieks*
*and infant's moans,*
*Cries of despair and agonizing*
*groans.*

The famine left behind a deserted countryside and untilled fields. The Company had plundered the state. Now nature threatened final ruin to both the state and the Company. Landowners could not pay their taxes and were put in gaol, leaving their lands to return to the jungle. In 1771, the tax-collectors' ac-

**Governor-General Warren Hastings, and his wife stand in the grounds of their English-style house near Calcutta. The artist, John Zoffany, did many vivid paintings of the British in India in the 1780s.**

counts listed one-third of the cultivable land as "deserted."

Faced with such a fall in revenue, Hastings was compelled to cut down expenses. He cut in half the Company's subsidy to the young Nawab of Bengal. He stopped the payments to the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, who had left British protection and returned to Delhi only to become a helpless puppet of the Marathas, a confederation of vigorous and aggressive rulers whose power was steadily expanding south and west of Delhi. Hastings did not see why he should subsidize through the Emperor "the only enemies we have in India, and who want but such aids to prosecute their designs, even to our ruin." He was right to see the Marathas as a potential threat; out of the anarchy into which the Mughal Empire had fallen, the Marathas – who had been the first to oppose the Mughal Empire in the 17th Century – had emerged as the most powerful single force. But for the time being, Hastings immediate problems were nearer home.

Among Hastings instructions from London had been an order to abandon the sham of double government, to end the pretence behind which the English hid their rule. He removed the collection of revenue from native administrators and made this the responsibility of a Board in Calcutta, which became, in effect, the new capital; English supervisors in the districts executed the Board's instructions. Duty-free passes were abolished in 1773 and duties reduced. Tougher laws were introduced to provide stability and stimulate trade.

After the famine, Bengal swarmed with bandits. Hastings decreed that robbers should be hanged in their own villages, that their families should be made slaves of the state, and that their villages should be fined.

For two years there was a whirl of activity. Hastings knew what he wanted to do, and did it with little protest or opposition. But events in England were moving to a conclusion which was to provide him with both. The Company's affairs were in such a state that, in 1772, after being refused a loan by the Bank of England, the directors turned in desperation to the government. Observing the contrast between the financial plight of

**A District Officer negotiates with Indian rulers and merchants. The Company depended on such officers to collect revenue and to act as magistrates, policemen and judges.**

the Company and the riches of its returning employees, Parliament ordered an investigation into its affairs. The subsequent revelations led to the passing of a Regulating Act in 1773. Under it, the old dual government in Bengal disappeared; now in its place there was a new dual government – that of the Company and the Crown.

By the terms of the Regulating Act, Warren Hastings became Governor-General of all of the Company's territories, with a rather vague authority over Madras and Bombay, which had previously been governed independently. A Council of Four was appointed in which he had only a casting vote. For the first time in the history of the Company, generous salaries were to be paid.

Three of the new councillors were sent out from England. One of them, Philip Francis, who thought that he would make a better Governor-General than Hastings, embarked on a campaign to discredit him from the moment he stepped ashore in Calcutta. The vendetta was notable for a vindictiveness unparalleled even in the 18th Century, and the mutual hatred it aroused coloured the relations of the two men for the next two decades, culminating only when Hastings finally vindicated himself before the House of Lords.

With the new Council came another institution whose effects were even more lasting: a Supreme Court in Calcutta. Hastings dreaded the effect in India of "the complicated system of jurisprudence long the acknowledged and lamented curse of lawyer-ridden England."

The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was not clearly defined, and three of the four judges sent from England were, like Philip Francis, biased against Hastings. The Chief Justice, Elijah Impey, however, was an old schoolfriend of the Governor-General, which lessened the impact of the other judges' dislike. Impey was believed to be so close to the Governor-General that he shared with Mrs. Hastings the privilege of dispensing appointments within the Governor-General's gift.

Hastings friendship with Impey did not prevent the other judges from trying to interfere in matters that the Governor-General believed to be beyond their authority. Agents of the Court began to arrest important landowners and others for alleged non-payment of taxes, "dragging the descendants of men who had once held the rights of sovereignty in this country, like felons to Calcutta, on the affidavit of a Calcutta clerk, or the complaint of a Court sergeant."

Hastings was determined to protect Indians from what a later writer was to call this "strange tribunal," consisting of "judges not one of whom spoke the language, or was familiar with the usages, of the millions over whom they claimed boundless authority. Its records were kept in unknown characters; its sentences were pronounced in unknown sounds. . . . All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and Europeans, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court."

Convinced that it was better for Indians to be given justice in terms of the traditional laws of Muslims and Hindus, Hastings commented: "The people of this country do not require our aid to furnish them with a rule for their conduct or a standard for their property."

Since the English knew very little about Muslim or Hindu law, Hastings ordered translations of Indian law books. The law books chosen did not throw much light on current practice, but they did develop an interest in India's past. From this strictly practical beginning emerged English Oriental scholarship. Hastings himself was interested in everything Indian, and with his encouragement and support the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in 1785.

Even if Hastings disliked English law, however, he was able to use it to his own advantage against the Council. Francis and his supporters outvoted him on almost every matter of consequence and many of none. The authority and dignity of the Governor-General were consistently undermined. For a time he was, in Francis's words, "a timid, desperate, distracted being."

But all this was changed by what was no less than a judicial murder. The victim was Nand Kumar, a Hindu of the highest caste who had occupied a number of important posts before and after the arrival of the British. He was a most unpleasant character, whose name was constantly associated with the intrigue

**In a caricatured accusation, Warren Hastings showers diamonds into the open mouths of his supporters, King George III, Queen Charlotte and Lord Chancellor Thurlow.**

**WARREN HASTINGS IMPEACHMENT** in 1788, for wrongdoing while Governor-General of India, gave cartoonists a field-day. Hastings (below, turbaned) is shown here as the victim in a tug-of-war between his presumed protector, Lord Chancellor Thurlow, aided by Satan, and his enemies headed by the great orator, Edmund Burke.

Philip Francis, Hastings bitter enemy, was his chief accuser at his trial for mistreating Indians and accepting bribes.

With patient dignity, Hastings suffered through seven years of hearings as the butt of Burke's splenetic and malignant oratory.

In this earthy cartoon Hastings is purged both by his enemies, Fox and Burke, and his alleged protectors, George III and Thurlow, all intent on wresting Indian loot from him.

and deception that went hand in hand with British meddling in Indian politics. Treachery had given him his position under the British in the first place: in 1757, when Clive was about to attack the French factory at Chandernagore, Nand Kumar led his troops away, allowing Clive an easy victory.

In 1764 Nand Kumar had been appointed by the Company as an important district official in place of the young Hastings, who wrote later: "I was never the enemy of any man but Nuncomar [Nand Kumar], whom from my soul I detested." The detestation was mutual.

Now, believing Hastings to be totally without power, Nand Kumar saw his chance for a *coup de grâce*. In 1775, he presented to the Council a series of charges alleging that Hastings had accepted substantial bribes. Francis, with his pathological hatred of Hastings, welcomed this accusation as a weapon with which to crush him. When he was threatened in Council, Hastings withdrew in anger, declared that its meetings would be illegal without him and refused to be accused by "a wretch whom you all know to be one of the basest of mankind."

Hastings then began a prosecution of Nand Kumar for conspiracy, but before this charge came to trial a particular enemy of the accused charged him with forging a will. Nand Kumar was arrested and placed in the common gaol, tried by a jury of Englishmen, and condemned to be hanged. His allies on the Council did nothing to help him. The Governor-General, who could have reprieved him, refused to act. Nand Kumar was executed - and everyone assumed that it was because he had ventured to attack Hastings, though Hastings denied having any previous knowledge of the charges. But in Indian minds at least, there was no doubt that Hastings was supreme.

In fact, he was not – but he became as powerful as he was reputed to be the following year, when one of his enemies on the Council died, leaving Hastings with a majority.

Hastings victory came just in time. The Marathas were active again, this time torn by an internecine power-struggle. The government of Bombay was promised rich prizes by one of the would-be Maratha leaders in exchange for its support. Unfortunately, the British and their ally lost the ensuing war. The British were forced to sign a treaty with the successful Maratha ruler; the terms of this document, Hastings said, "almost made me sink with shame when I read it." He immediately repudiated it and dispatched a force in a spectacular march across India from Bengal. After some bitter fighting, however, the British and the Marathas decided to call it quits, and for the next 20 years there was peace.

It was not only Bombay which seemed determined to bring ruin upon itself. In Madras, too, affairs were in considerable disorder – so much so that in 1776 the Governor had been arrested by his own council and had died in captivity the following year. Madras had then managed to provoke the ruler of Mysore, whose huge armies swept up to the very gates of the city. By sending an army under his best general, Hastings managed again to restore peace in Madras.

Hastings contribution to the British Raj was to build, upon the foundations laid by Clive, the scaffolding of a sovereign state. Opposed by enemies both English and Indian, he succeeded in changing the British from armed traders into established rulers. Much of what he did was tentative, for he sorely lacked men of worth and integrity, but he created inside British-controlled Bengal an island of peace surrounded by an India swept by marauding armies.

In 1784, Pitt introduced his India Act, to limit the expansion of the East India Company's private empire. "It has destroyed all my hopes, both here and at home," wrote Hastings, and immediately resigned. When he left India in 1785, his enemies were waiting for him. The victim of a drawn-out struggle for control of India between Company and Crown, he was impeached before Parliament in a long and searching trial, which began in 1788 and did not end until seven years later. His opponents attacked with savagery and ignorance, relying largely on his treatment of Nand Kumar, while Hastings defended himself with the bare truth and with dignity. "I have given you all and you have repaid me with impeachment." The trial ended in acquittal and Hastings retired to live on a generous pension from the directors of the Company until his death 23 years later.

**Assuming Hastings guilt, this cartoon has Fox as hangman, putting a noose round the neck of Hastings, while Burke, cast as a sanctimonious parson, looks calmly on.**

In a complex political satire on the impeachment and the East India Company, Hastings is castigated as the "golden calf" – the false idol set up in India – who is forced to relinquish the "filthy lucre" he gained by oppressing Indians.

your Lordships Wisdom may seem best calculated to accomplish the end which your petitioner so anxiously solicits, namely, a close of this long depending trial during the present Session of Parliament.

Warren Hastings

18.th April 1793.

A despairing petition by Warren Hastings to the House of Lords in the sixth year of his trial ended with a plea to end the agonizing ordeal he had endured.

Wild elephants are driven into corrals. Here sport is combined with profit for, after training, the elephants, valuable as work animals and popular as mounts, fetched up to £60 a piece.

A wild hog is finally surrounded after a chase of several miles. The terrified animal has toppled one of the riders by viciously goring his horse in a final attempt to escape.

In the mid-18th Century, as the East India Company tightened its hold on Bengal, more and more Englishmen went to India seeking fame and fortune. Despite the enervating three-month-long hot season, when they found India "dull, gloomy, spiritless and solitary," most Company employees could compensate for the periodic discomfort with a life of luxury and ease.

In the cold weather India became a sportsman's paradise. The jungles

A trapped water-buffalo lowers its head against a volley of musket-fire and spears.

were a riot of brilliant colour, harbouring tiger, elephant, buffalo and boar by the thousand. Galloping on horseback, or surging through the waving grass on ponderous elephants with a retinue of native guides and servants, the white hunter would set off for the chase, eagerly anticipating the charge of a wild hog, or the angry snarl of a cornered tiger. These drawings by Samuel Howett, an East India Company man, show a few such exciting encounters.

One of the several wolves smoked from a lair falls to a shot by a Company official. Indian servants tend the evil-smelling sulphur fires and join in the slaughter with spears.

As a tiger takes to a river to elude its pursuers, elephant-drivers urge their beasts into the water. Almost completely submerged, the elephants breathe through their trunks.

# III. "Splendid Sloth and Languid Debauchery"

In Hastings's time, the British in India formed a group of foreign conquerors operating a state that differed only in a few details from any other Indian state. His successor, Lord Cornwallis, made further changes in the administration which prepared the way for a state unique in India, a state in which the inhabitants were to be ruled not only by men of another race but according to principles emerging from another culture and another experience.

Again, it was the corruption and the inefficiencies of the Company that inspired Cornwallis's first actions. Ever since 1772, the problem of the Company and its affairs in India had been a matter of discussion and controversy. The impeachment of Warren Hastings was not entirely a question of personal enmities. A degree of concern for the public good in India had also been involved. Out of the argument and rhetoric slowly emerged certain broad principles about the relationship between Britain and India. The Company could not be permitted to exercise irresponsible dominion in India. It might rule, but its employees had to be accountable to Parliament.

The machinery for this new relationship between Company and Crown, India and Britain, was contained in the India Act of 1784, whose passage had driven Hastings to resign.

The Act created two tiers of supervision. In London, the Company's affairs would henceforth be watched over by a minister called the "President of the Board of Control," and in Calcutta by a Governor-General whose appointment had to be approved by the British government. The Company's choice of a Governor-General was restricted: none of its employees would ever again be eligible for the post. To emphasize the Governor-General's special position he would henceforth always be an English nobleman – a species, it was thought, untainted by the need for commercial profit, and thus above corruption.

The first man to be appointed under the new dispensation, Lord Cornwallis, was a distinguished soldier, whose reputation had even survived defeat in the American War of Independence. He was a great landowner, and close to the Prime Minister. His position was unassailable, by the Company or anyone else. In India, Cornwallis would not only be Governor-General, but also Commander-in-Chief. No one before had wielded so much authority. But Cornwallis was a new type of ruler, courteous and incorruptible. "Here there was no broken fortune to be mended," wrote Henry Dundas, the President of the Company's newly established Board of Control, "here there was no avarice to be gratified, here there was no beggarly mushroom kindred to be provided for, no crew of hungry followers gaping to be gorged."

His first task was to clean up corruption, still rampant despite all that Hastings had tried to do. The Company's administrators were traders first and rulers afterwards. Cornwallis insisted that private trade must cease and that the civil servants be paid a substantial salary to compensate for what they had given up. He was not altogether successful, and had to report that most of the senior officials merely transferred their commercial interests to friends and relations. But, in time, things began to change. The service was divided into commercial and political branches, and the choice was simple. A man could remain a trader, and trade, or he could be an official and content himself with a large salary – but he could not do both. With Cornwallis, the Company began its long death. Ruling India was becoming more important than fostering trade.

**Charles Cornwallis, wealthy, aristocratic and independent, was appointed Governor-General in 1786 to end the corruption that then characterized Company rule.**

Corruption was bad enough in Calcutta, but it was worse elsewhere. The two worst areas in northern India were Benares and Lucknow, the "Augean stables," Cornwallis called them. Benares was "a scene of the grossest corruption and mismanagement" and the British Resident (or representative) there, "although not regularly vested with any power, enjoyed the most absolute government of the country without control." His salary was 1,000 rupees a month. To this he added 400,000 rupees a year from various underhand activities, plus profits from "the complete monopoly of commerce." All this was stopped, and the Resident's salary was raised to 5,000 rupees a month.

The army, too, was riddled with corruption. In the native state of Oudh, the ruler was supposed to pay for the presence of a British force in his territories. Cornwallis discovered that the force did not exist, its officers dividing the ruler's subsidy amongst themselves. In fact, the Company's army was in as bad a condition as the civil service. How could it be otherwise? The men were, as the Duke of York emphasized in a letter to Cornwallis, the "riffraff of London streets . . . and the Gleanings of the different Gaols." The officers, in general, were "young men who have ruined themselves and are obliged to leave the Country, or very low people who are out to make their fortunes, and who will therefore stick at nothing in order to gain money." Cornwallis did what he could to reform the army, but in the main he concentrated on the native element in it, which he found in good shape. "A Brigade of our sepoys," said Cornwallis with some pride, "would easily make anybody emperor of Hindustan."

If Englishmen were corrupt, they could at least be reformed or replaced with honest men, but to Cornwallis Indians were untrustworthy in civilian roles, though they had fine qualities as fighting men. "Every native of India, I verily believe," he wrote, "is corrupt." Indians were dismissed from all posts commanding a salary of over £500 a year. It was the only way, Cornwallis was convinced. "I think," he concluded, "it must be universally admitted, that without a large

**In a dramatic incident captured by Zoffany, a stampeding elephant terrorizes the members of a native prince's embassy to Lord Cornwallis.**

and well-regulated body of Europeans, our hold on these valuable dominions must be very insecure." Indians of quality were thus deprived of the chance to rise in the Company's service – a cause of deep bitterness in the years to come.

Behind all Cornwallis's reforms was his desire to establish the rule of law rather than the arbitrary law of the ruler. The British, following Indian practice, had made no distinction between the authority that made the law and the authority that enforced it. Even the men who collected the revenue had judicial powers. Cornwallis put an end to this. In the preamble to an order of 1793 he wrote: "The collectors of revenue must not only be divested of the power of deciding on their own acts, but rendered amenable for them to the courts . . . subject to personal prosecution for every exaction exceeding the amount they are authorised to demand." This was a revolutionary change, and, with Cornwallis's reorganization of the courts of law, it gave Indians a real protection against arbitrary tyranny, for even the government itself could be taken to court – and a court in which the judges would not infrequently rule against the rulers who had set up the court.

Yet for all these changes, Cornwallis's India retained the age-old features of Indian society. Cornwallis adapted British institutions to the Indian scene because there were no other alternatives to the old system of Indian government. He did not want to change Indian society; on the contrary, he was a good Whig and believed that government should interfere as little as possible in the lives of the people. What he did was designed to protect the people.

Unfortunately, though, he failed to understand the system he was dealing with. The British, like the Indian rulers they had superseded, depended for their income on the revenue from the land. In Bengal, land revenue had been collected by men known as *zemindars* who, as agents of the ruler, paid over to him as little as they could, keeping the surplus for themselves. The *zemindar* was not the owner of land – that was assumed to

continued on p. 328

A cock-fight, the favourite pastime of English soldiers, was a great social occasion. Here, in a scene of opulent confusion, Indian merchants join soldiers at the pit to lay bets. The artist, John Zoffany, included himself (top right), in a white jacket and holding a brush.

belong to the King. Cornwallis, however, assumed that there must be a land-owning class whose rights and duties could be defined. The *zemindars* were therefore regarded as owning their land; taxes were fixed; if these were not paid the land could be sold. This, too, was something new to India.

As a result of the administrators' ignorance, the land-tax was set too high. Land began to be sold up, changing hands so many times that rural society and its economy were severely shaken. Cornwallis's reform added to the already oppressed state of the countryside. In 1789, he reported that a third of the Company's territories in Bengal were still "a jungle inhabited by wild beasts."

It was not only the peasants who had fled from that land. The iron-smelters, too, had gone, and the charcoal-burners. Even in large towns, factories closed and many of the markets disappeared.

The weavers remained – but they had effectively become slaves. Their bondage originated with the directors of the Company in London, who informed the Trade Department in Calcutta of how much cloth was required. A sum of money considered sufficient to pay for this cloth (known by the euphemism of "the Investment") would be allotted from Bengal's state revenues, and orders went to the various weaving areas. The Commercial Agent would order the weavers to appear on a certain date to receive advances. Each weaver was debited with the advance, and required to produce a given amount of cloth to pay it off.

It was not unusual for the weavers to be put under guard until they had produced their quota, especially if they objected to the agent's terms. Sometimes a man was sent to ensure that the weaver produced quickly; if this happened, the weaver also paid for the overseer's upkeep. Weavers were bound by law "on no account to give any other persons whatever, European or Native, either the labour or the produce engaged to the Company." If they failed to deliver, they were liable to heavy fines. It was hardly surprising that many weavers left the trade.

But the real threat to Indian industries was not economic slavery but the invention, in faraway England, of machines which could do their work more quickly.

Cornwallis was responsible for a great deal of economic devastation. Yet when he left India in 1795, he believed that he had created an unaggressive state which ruled Indians for their own good on English lines. Though the implications of what he had done were not understood at the time, he had, by consolidating British power over the administration and over ambitious princes in neighbouring states, laid out final foundations for the creation of the Raj.

When Cornwallis sailed home in 1795 there was for the first time a definable *British* presence in the country. The emerging rulers were becoming aware of their power and began to give expression to it with European-style buildings.

When the British had been merely feeling their way towards dominion, they had had little sense of racial superiority; they were patriotic, but inoffensive about it. Relations with Indians were unself-conscious. The British were primarily traders, and since it takes two sides to make a bargain they dealt on comparatively equal terms with Indian traders. On a higher social level, many of the leading Englishmen had close friendships with Indian noblemen and scholars, which expanded as the British became rulers and diplomatists.

It was a normal thing for British officials to keep an Indian mistress. The women were sometimes called "sleeping dictionaries," though it is doubtful that the men learned very much about the country or its language from them. So widespread was the practice that, as late as 1810, a semi-official handbook for men about to go out to India gave typical costs for such an establishment (the Indian mistress, it recorded, received 40 rupees a month).

But as the 18th Century came to a close the atmosphere was already changing. New men out from England, with new ideas of superiority and new values, contributed to the segregation of the races and a growing contempt among the British for the manners and morals of those they ruled. As power and stability were added to wealth, the British began to spend some of their money on the construction of great mansions, churches and government buildings, designed according to the current European architectural fashions. This alien architecture was one of the first British statements to the people they ruled that a new caste, with its own temples and its own caste customs, now topped all other castes.

The growing size of the British community in India contributed a great deal to its sense of exclusivity. In this increasingly closed society, with its own laws of social behaviour, everyone knew everyone else. There was very little to do, for the cares of office took up only a fraction of the civil servant's time. The British lived with all the luxury and vulgarity of the rich back home. Behind the elegant façades of their great houses they aped the social life of England with a round of balls and dinner-parties. Fortunes were regularly lost and won at cards. Even a man of modest income (by Calcutta standards) would have 60 servants. An army officer out on a campaign would travel like a prince, with a cook, a valet, a groom, a barber, and others, as well as 15 or 20 coolies to carry his supplies of wine and brandy and look after his live chickens and goats.

As a Victorian civil servant later put it, the British lived in "splendid sloth and languid debauchery." There was a great deal of outward show. "Great men rode about in stagecoaches, with a dozen servants running before and behind them to bawl out their titles; and little men lounged in palanquins or drove a chariot for which they never intended to pay, drawn by horses which they bullied or cajoled out of the stables of wealthy Indians." Vast sums of money were borrowed from native bankers. "As a natural result there were at one time near a hundred civilians of more than thirty-five years' standing, who remained out here in pledge to their creditors, poisoning the principles of the younger men, and blocking out their betters from places of eminence and responsibility."

But there was always disease to open the way of promotion, and the practice of eating a colossal dinner at midday, eased down with many bottles of wine and spirits, lowered resistance. "The breaking of the rains this season," noted one doleful English resident in 1791, "was attended with much fatal illness, and a number of the European inhabitants of Calcutta were carried off; in September alone there were seventy funerals,"

# SKINNER'S HORSE

**Torn by warring armies – Indian, French and British – 18th-Century India teemed with military adventurers. None earned a more illustrious reputation than Colonel James Skinner, a half-caste whose powerful leadership created the most famous irregular cavalry in British India.**

## "Sikander Sahib"

In 1792, an East India Company decree barred half-castes like Skinner from combatant service with Company troops. Like many other fellow victims of discrimination, Skinner found employment in the army of a native prince. In 1795, at the age of 17, he began his career as an Ensign in the Maratha Army. Eight

**The marksmanship of the "Yellow Boys" while shooting from the saddle (above) was remarkable. At full gallop they could consistently hit bottles set up as targets some 20 yards away. On the right, Skinner leads his regiment home from a general review at Delhi (background) with his closest English friend, William Fraser, the Agent to Governor-General Hastings, riding at his right. Some of the men have broken rank and are practising their skills in a mock battle.**

years later, when war broke out with the British, Skinner was summarily dismissed because of his earlier connections with the East India Company.

Reluctant at first to join the colour-prejudiced British in battle against the Marathas, he was eventually persuaded to accept a command of irregular cavalry serving with the Company's forces. His troopers fought with distinction throughout the war, and were then officially discharged, the normal treatment handed out to mercenaries. But "Sikander Sahib" – a mispronunciation of Skinner meaning in Hindi "Alexander the Great" – was no mere mercenary: he used his own pension to keep intact his troop of brightly uniformed soldiers, the "Yellow Boys," widely renowned throughout India for their discipline, courage and expertise.

# A Man of Two Worlds

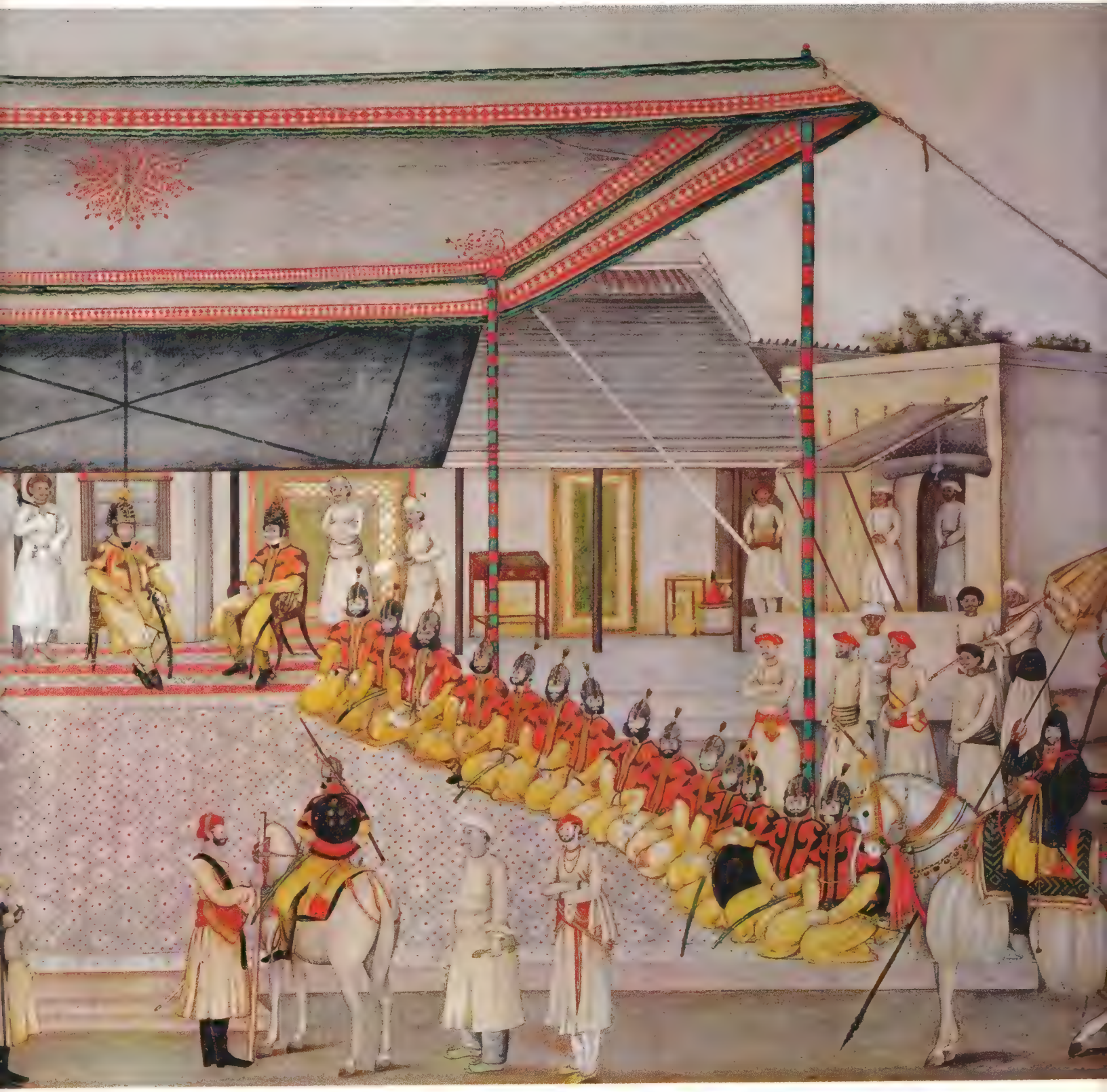
Childhood with an Indian mother and eight years with the Marathas bound Skinner to the Indian way of life: he kept 14 wives, his household was Indian, and he was more fluent in Persian, the Court language, than English.

Yet, despite the arrogance and petty jealousy of some British officers, Skinner carved a place in his father's world too. Many great Englishmen cherished his friendship. Skinner's Horse became an official part of the Indian Army, honoured as its premier cavalry regiment. He served the British with unique ability as soldier and diplomat, pacifying the Company's newly ceded areas and interceding for the British with the native princes he knew so well. In 1836 he was confirmed a Christian and erected the Church of St. James in Delhi in honour of his father.

"Sikander Sahib" died in 1841. His funeral – with full British military honours, but led by his Yellow Boys – aptly symbolized his life, half in the Indian world, half in the British, and in the end honoured by both.

**Skinner took a personal interest in his rank and file Yellow Boys. His picture-album abounds with portraits like this one.**

**Skinner (centre) and his son James (seated on his left) preside at a regimental durbar of his troops who wear ceremonial red jerkins over their uniforms. A new man (foreground) presents himself for approval to join the Horse.**



# IV. Wellesley's "Grand Design"

In 1798, a new era opened with the arrival of Lord Wellesley as Governor-General. Wellesley had not come to let things remain as they were, or even to indulge in a little reform. His purpose was, quite simply, to create an empire in India before the French did. He brought with him that desperate fear of the French Revolution which had caught hold of the British at home. His hatred of the violence unleashed by the fanatical Jacobins, and of the new military figure of General Bonaparte, allowed him to see the menace of France under every stone. A lone Frenchman at a native court was the advance guard of some great subversion. A letter to some French Governor was an indictment of treason. Every mercenary was a threat. Because of this attitude, Wellesley attacked Tipu, Sultan of Mysore and destroyed him, and then turned on the Marathas, the only other native power that seemed to offer a front for French aggression.

The French menace was an illusion. France's four miniscule trading areas – Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahé and Karikal – had been returned by the British in 1763 after the Seven Years' War only on condition that they would not be refortified. The French mercenaries in the armies of native princes were men anxious only to make a fortune and depart. But Wellesley chose to think otherwise. Young General Bonaparte was in Egypt, and Egypt was on the road to India. Looking at the state of the rest of India after he had defeated Tipu, he saw only chaos, division and decay. The Marathas were sharply divided among themselves. This was the time, Wellesley reasoned, to take the plunge before real opposition was organized. In this, he had the full support of the government in London, itself faced with the rising power of Napoleon Bonaparte. Only the directors of the Company resented their Governor-General's arrogance and the freedom with which he was spending the Company's money.

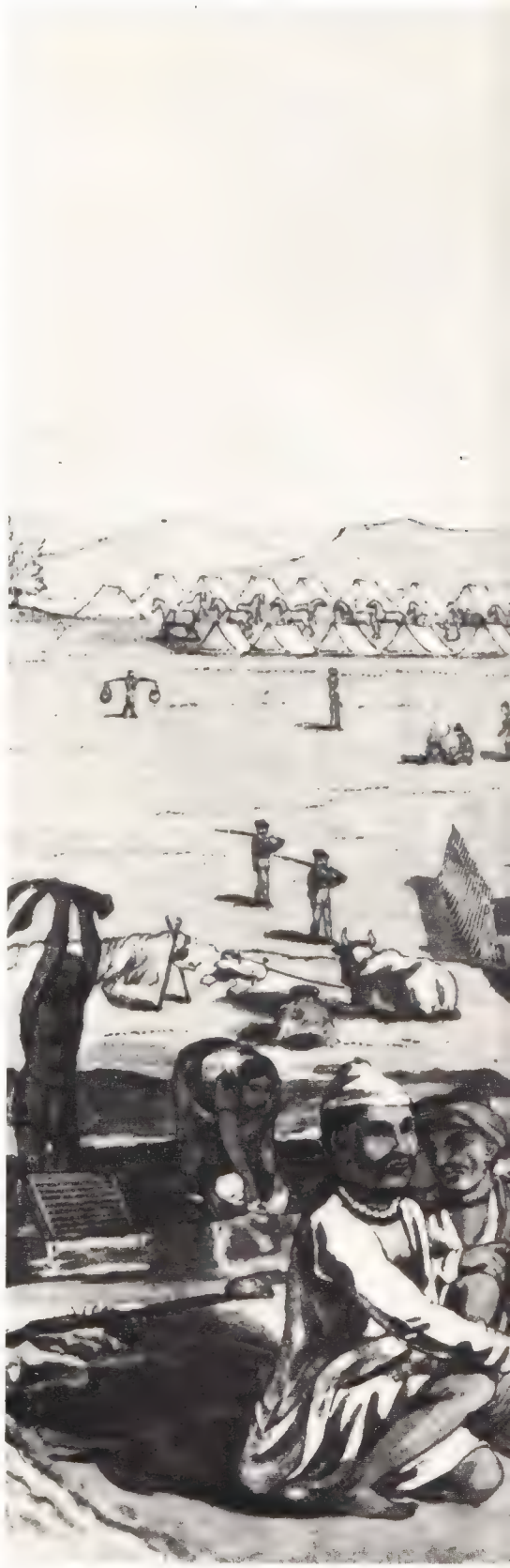
Wellesley's first task was to take control of the weaker surviving Indian states. This was done by forcing the native rulers to create what were known as "subsidiary forces." The technique was astute. Such a force cost the British nothing because it was paid for out of the revenues of the state in which it was established. Since these forces were well trained and British-officered, the result was that the Governor-General could count on the presence of bodies of well-armed men scattered about India in highly strategic positions. In a state where there was a subsidiary force the British could do what they liked, for they were the strongest military power there. The ruler of the state also benefited, for the British were prepared to protect him not only from outside enemies but also from internal rebellion. Hyderabad was the first state bullied into accepting a subsidiary force.

The next to feel Wellesley's iron grip was the nominal head of the Marathas. Threatened by the other Maratha leaders, he was forced to accept British protection by the Treaty of Bassein in 1802.

At this point, however, it seemed that Wellesley's plans were to be frustrated. The directors of the Company, angered by the expense of his campaigns, ordered him to reduce his military forces. They even cut the allowances granted to Wellesley's brother, Arthur, the future Duke of Wellington, for his part in the war against Mysore. The brothers were united in their dislike of the directors and their "corrupt and vulgar interference." So much so, that in 1803 Wellesley contemplated resigning.

But the Maratha threat came to his aid. Wellesley's increasing pressure on the remaining Maratha leaders to accept British protection led to war, a war which ended in September, 1803, with the capture of Delhi and of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, who had for long been a powerless puppet of one of the Maratha chiefs, Sindhia. Shah Alam now found himself once again the pensioner of the British. Only one of the Maratha chiefs now threatened the British, and he was quietened into a sulky peace in 1805.

In the same year Wellesley was recalled. He had done all he could to satisfy his "conscientious conviction that no greater blessing can be conferred on the native inhabitants of India than the extension of the British authority, influence and power." But he had not been allowed to complete his "grand design." His wars had been too costly and the



**When the tough Marathas, who continued their rigorous training even in captivity (above), were defeated in 1818 the British were at last in a position to dominate all India.**

British government, faced with a growing struggle with France on its own doorstep, was no longer interested in conquering India.

Behind him, however, Wellesley left a number of young men inspired with something of his own enthusiasm. "Sovereigns you are," wrote one of them, Charles Metcalfe, in 1806, "and as such must act." But they had to curb their ambitions. For eight years after the departure of Wellesley, the British were forced to mark time. The new men in command preferred peace and financial retrenchment. They even hoped that those Indian princes still untouched by British expansion would sort themselves out and settle down into some kind of amicable co-existence with the British.

It was not to be. Anarchy spread. The chaos was intensified by the activities of robber-bands known as "Pindaris." These bands were swollen by unemployed soldiers and dispossessed villagers. They attached themselves to the Maratha chiefs, not for pay, but on the understanding that they could plunder as much as they wished.

It was understood that the Pindaris would leave the Marathas' territory alone – but frequently they did not. Mounted on horses and ponies, and armed with weapons ranging from matchlocks to iron-tipped staves, they would gather at some prearranged rendezvous and then spread to sweep the countryside. They travelled light, for their supplies consisted of what they plundered. They tried to avoid conflict with organized troops, and to gain their victories by surprise. Their method was to hit and run. To force victims to disgorge, they would put a bag of hot ashes across the face or a heavy weight on the chest. Young girls were usually abducted to be sold to procurers.

In 1816 the Pindaris, who usually left British territory alone, invaded a district in the province of Madras. The Governor-General, Francis Rawdon, Lord Hastings, decided to act, even though he had been forbidden by the directors "to undertake the suppression of the fiends who occasioned this heart-rending scene, lest I should provoke a war with the Marathas."

There were indeed heart-rending scenes: women drowned themselves to avoid capture by the Pindaris. In one village, seeing that their menfolk could not drive off the raiders, the women gathered in a hut with their children, set it alight, and burned themselves to death.

Lord Hastings' decision to take the next major step to extend British power over the Pindaris and Marathas was largely due to commercial pressures. In 1813 the Company's Charter had been renewed. But commercial interests in Britain, long jealous of the restrictions on private trade, had managed to end the Company's monopoly of trading rights.

Despite the Company monopoly, competing traders were able to increase Indian imports of cloth from Lancashire nearly 1,000 per cent between 1794 and 1813. This had only whetted the appetite of the manufacturers. They were convinced that greater profits were there for the taking in India. Free trade was their cry, and for such trade there had to be peace, order and security; this could only be achieved by the conquest of all India. It was as a result of these pressures that Hastings decided to go ahead.

He demanded help from the Marathas in his war against the Pindaris, threatening that if they did not co-operate they would nevertheless be included in his campaign – but as enemies. The chiefs were unwilling to submit and too divided to present a united front. So the last Maratha War began.

It was really a series of straggling engagements, and by the middle of 1818 all was over. The Marathas were defeated and the British supreme. The men who had achieved this success were not overwhelmed by it, though they were somewhat surprised by the completeness of their victory. And they had every reason for surprise. In less than 80 years, a company of merchants from a small country thousands of miles away had managed to gain control of a vast Empire.

The British had not triumphed because their armies and generals were better than those of their opponents. The European-trained armies of the Indian princes were quite as good as the Company's forces, just as well armed, and not infrequently better generaled. But these armies were usually led by mercenaries, out for personal profit even if it meant changing sides or setting themselves up as independent rulers. The British fought for a collective purpose.

The most important factor, however, was that the British could replace losses and concentrate resources in a way no Indian ruler could. It was a matter both of economics and of maritime mobility. The British could move reinforcements by sea from Britain and round the coasts of India. If things went badly in one place, they could rush help from another. Indian rulers, by contrast, had nothing to draw on. Their revenues were decreasing while Britain, in the first flood of the Industrial Revolution, was steadily and dramatically expanding her commerce.

For the British, success brought problems. "The task of conquest was slight," reflected John Malcolm, who had played an important part in it, "in comparison to that which awaits us, the preservation of the empire acquired."

New tasks coincided with new attitudes. Wellesley's simple scheme of expansion gave way to a desire not only to administer, but to reform.

Only 13 years before, Wellesley's young men were all for intervention, not because they believed themselves to be the missionaries of a higher civilization, but because they regarded it as their duty to bring order out of chaos, to establish peace and security in place of anarchy, cruelty and violence. Now, older and wiser and more experienced, they still dreaded the expansion of the kind of government that Cornwallis had established in Bengal. Most of them wanted to preserve the fabric of Indian society, to allow changes to come naturally and without interference from outside. It was far better, they believed, to maintain as many Indian institutions as possible and to use them slowly to introduce reforms.

But the spirit of the times was against them. Christians in Britain were beginning to demand that Indians be saved from the misery of heathen religions. Political philosophers were advocating sweeping administrative and legal changes, in the interests of efficiency and economy. India was on the edge of a great period of experiment and change which was to shake it to the roots.

# Order now - and build your own historic sailing ship!

## Only £2.00 for this Revell kit.

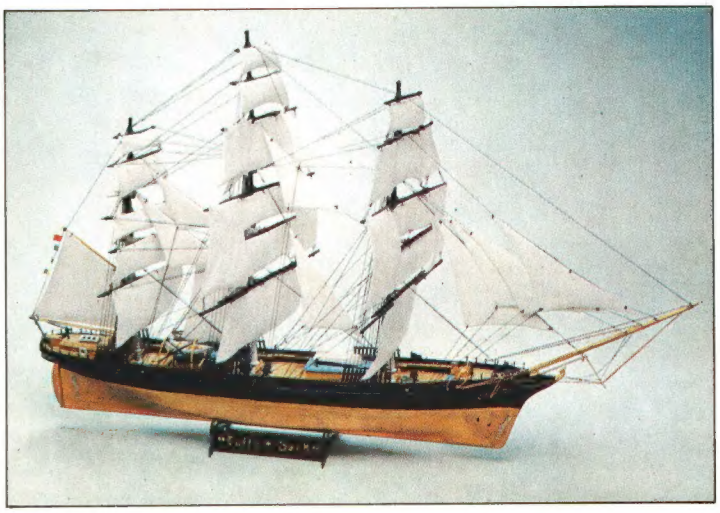
**From the well-known model kit makers Revell comes this detailed two-feet long model of the 'Cutty Sark', fastest and most famous of the tea clippers.**

Built more than a hundred years ago, and now preserved in a permanent dry dock by the Thames at Greenwich, the 'Cutty Sark' was foremost among the merchant fleet which formed the lifeline of the British Empire before the age of steam.

**Save 50p**

Now you can construct a replica of this graceful ship – and re-live in your own imagination its triumphs and adventures on the high seas of the world.

At only £2·00, you're saving 50p on the regular price of this fascinating kit. There are hours of absorbing interest



ahead as you watch it take shape. No special skill, no special tools apart from tweezers and a paintbrush are required – just patience!

**Simplified construction**

The kit includes a pre-formed one-piece deck with integrally moulded cabins, realistic vacuum-formed sails, simplified yard and mast assembly with rigging and anchor thread.

Although it is not too difficult for older children to assemble, this high quality kit is so detailed that it makes a handsome display piece for your bookshelves or side table. Colourfully boxed with full instructions, it also makes a very acceptable gift for any aspiring model-maker.

**Send off the order form now**

Your order must be received by 8th June, so post the order form (below) today. Remember to include four maroon tokens–the last one appears this week. Please allow up to 28 days for delivery.

# Traditional craftsmanship in brass and leather

## Only £1·25 for this decorative martingale.

**The origins of horse brasses are lost in the mists of antiquity. Certainly they were made in the East more than twenty centuries ago. At first they were talismans, using the powers of metal and of symbols to ward off evil – protecting both horse and rider against the powers of darkness.**

**Harness and livery**

The martingale to which the brasses are usually attached is a functional piece of harness. It connects the noseband or bit with the girth, preventing the horse from throwing back its head.

At one time – about two hundred years ago – the brasses became part of a livery, identifying a horse's owner by the particular set of symbols carried. Today they are purely decorative, and a martingale is as much at home hanging beside a hearth as on a harness.

**Solid brass – and lacquered**

Now you can obtain an authentic, craftsman-made example of this traditional ornament at the special price of only £1·25 (manufacturer's recommended retail price is £2·20).

The martingale itself is made from genuine harness leather, thick and strong with a smooth tanned finish. The three solid brasses are highly polished, and stove lacquered to prevent tarnishing.

Its brass buckles and loop, part of the harness design, make it easy to hang up anywhere.

**Individually selected**

The set of brasses illustrated is typical, but designs will vary as each martingale is individually made up from a selection of traditional brasses. The crown design (shown centre) will, however, be featured on them all.

To order your martingale you will need four orange tokens from *The British Empire*. The second token appears this week.

**How the token scheme works**

Each week, there are two tokens on the inside front cover of *The British Empire*. This week, there's the fourth maroon model ship token and the second orange martingale token. Each week, you should collect these tokens to take advantage of the exciting offers that are on their way. And every week, as you collect towards the current offer, you'll be getting a start towards the next.

**Note**

If you miss a token, your newsagent will be able to order the appropriate back number of *The British Empire* for you.

All offers applicable to the British Isles only.

To: Model Ship Offer, 17 Thame Park Road, Thame, Oxon.
Please send me a model ship kit. I enclose four maroon tokens and a cheque or postal order for £2·00 (made payable to Time-Life International).

Name .....
BLOCK LETTERS PLEASE

Full postal address .....

*Morning dress, semi-classical style, 1807*